

/32 cont./

634 Nevertheless, the agglomeration as such can assume signifi-
 613 cance: this is when the excessive proportions of the taqbilt
 splinter its ikhs-s into fragments, which will lead a life more and
 more independent in each of the villages where they are settled.
 /33/ combined with other elements. So for the division of the
 Iseqqalen among several villages of the Idma country. It is true
 621 that this dispersion does not go very far. Nevertheless there
 794 exists a village solidarity, the most complete sign of which is
 that of the existence of a timezgida: place of worship, if one
 wishes, not only of an orthodoxy with a singular flavor, but also
 794 a municipal circle. The timezgida unit is the one which, with
 162 very rare anomalies, might be the best to give information on
 634 the average quota of agglomerations in the different cantons.
 Thus in a. H'adduyws, 21 mosques give an average of 125 in-
 habitants grouped together. Even this result is appreciably
 twisted by the existence of two bourgs, Tasa and Fensu, with 300
 to 400 inhabitants each. At Idma, 13 agglomerations, one a
 bourg of nearly 500 inhabitants, Usikis; the average is 160 in-
 habitants. The only bourg of the a. Mh'nd has some 600 inhab-
 itants: but this is, for it alone, one taqbilt. The Imt'ddan and
 the a. Musa do not reach 100 inhabitants agglomerated together
 on the average. In general fashion, as one sees, these units are
 very small. The problems of structure that this poses will be
 taken up again. For the moment let us consider two impressions
 that can draw some vividness from a comparison with other
 milieus.

342 An invincible association of ideas links for us the notion of
 333 architecture in stone to that of duration, and also of magnificence
 (1).

1. Cf. reflections of Vidal de La Blache,
Principes de géographie humaine /Principles
 of human geography/, 1922, on architecture
 of earth (adobe), p. 150, and of stone, pp.
 150 and 154 sq. He sees in the connection of
 cultivation on terraces and architecture in stone
 an essentially Mediterranean matter (p. 156).

[Ait Musa]

619 /53 cont./

634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
 181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
 [62] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of
 too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the
 small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.

634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
 175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to ad-
 619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
 [63] unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs,
 the "Caïd" Chittitih, was traitorously killed in an ambush. La-
 mentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides
 by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not out-
 live such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next,
 become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having
 wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of
 the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of
 asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the

[426] saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
 usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from
 above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that

[181] he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
 brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and
 of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
 101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose
 634 walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins.
 At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed
 completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Tafaint.

This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a
 blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u Abderrahman. In fact, it has
 more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
 133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
 101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
 634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igermsuq.
 619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, follow-
 ing the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral,
the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked
recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The
a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an
alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Anunu,
consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the
amghar Abdesslam b. Abdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/

An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their
lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest
time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every
two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the
other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

[172] About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the
Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet in-
fluenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a
certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one
counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout,
3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Abdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4
in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^C Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla
(Ud Besseb^C), 10 at Taftacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 in ait^C Aliwach
(Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they
are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these tem-
porary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

634 This specialization by sectors seems to be a corollary of the
619 amplification of the group. It is complementary to another rule
613 ordering the equilibrium of the group on the space that it occupies, by the minute samplings. Thus it is that the Idma are divided into five branches. They themselves are divided into 33 ikhs-s, two of which now extinct. The average size of an ikhs can thus be estimated at 13 houses, 15; 5 foyers, 67; 74 persons. Of these five branches, four are represented at Usikis, three at Ad'erd'ur. Two seem to be concentrated particularly in one village, for example, Tasselli or Ad'erd'ur. Among the ikhs-s themselves, two are represented in several villages. One, the Iseqqalen, is represented everywhere. It is evidently the dominant group.

A harmony, obeying simple laws of balanced representation, is thus recognized in the composition that prevails between the Idma and their country. But an even more refined harmony prevails in the distribution of the grounds. How, in the case of Agersili, the division of the ground into quarters is combined with that of the group into ikhs-s: this is what will stand out from the table on the following page. /See p. 269./

Comments on the Table

613 This table with its figures was drawn up by myself, following
423 numerous cross-checkings on the spot, one of which was made in
242 August, 1950, in the presence of J. Dresch. It is confirmed in
312 large part by another table, this one figurative, drawn up by a
[26] scholar from Ad'erd'ur. The native figure is based, no longer on the division by quarters, but on the service by ditches. As the quarter here has a technical definition, that is, of being served by one main sluice, the result comes out the same. Nevertheless a fluctuation in the number of parcels: 3,546 according to the first method, 3,670 according to the second one. A coefficient of incertitude of some 4% is negligible. Thus let us study the principal traits that flow from this ensemble of indices, calculable, one sees, with sufficient exactitude.

[Ait H'adduyws]

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c) Three mosques particularly armed with powers, and presenting along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the taqbilt more directly into play. Thus, the timezgida Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâma of Alus. One is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Saint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 ritual places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight! The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into some thirty ikhs-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggahi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional.

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It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

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Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a: H'adduyws, I. Geryun, Imt'd-dan, a. Lh'sen, Ibuban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is, a total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of timezgida," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

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Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this timezgida remains par excellence the place of the life of the group, one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can

1: Berque--655 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. IX

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Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

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C. L. Berque

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).

361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which
the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial en-
sembles.

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/On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).

This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.

241 Plate IX:

291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).

516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.

133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

[37 cont.]

632 activity is paralyzed by the presence of a sizable Israelite colony
• 162 -- 12,000 inhabitants, more than half of the total population --
remain confined in the lower occupations and do not get to play
the role of citizens.

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Finally, Taroudant rises in a favorable site among gardens fertilized by the water of the river, in the middle of the triangular plain bordered by the Atlas and Anti-Atlas. The crossing of two great natural roads, that of the very valley of the Sous and the route from the oases of Aqqa and Tisint to the Tizi n Test and Marrakech, makes a center destined, it seems, by the general layout of the land, to become a true Berbère /Berber/ capital. Moreover, this town takes the place of another identical city, Iglil, vanished since the epoch of the Almohades. Nevertheless, Taroudant has remained above all the residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous, the seat of the Arab governors. Ruined and sacked more than ten times in the course of history, it has been most often repopulated, thanks to foreigners, Arabs, black slaves, and Riffians, and at present one finds behind its /38/ old crenelated walls only 8,000 inhabitants confined in a miserable existence.

The Sous has formerly known other cities of lesser importance that were doubtless spontaneous creations of the autochthons and lived exclusively under Berbère /Berber/ laws. Such were probably Aghmat and Nefis at the foot of the northern Dîr of the Atlas. But they were simple village-like agglomerations established around a market in prosperous olive-groves, as Amizmiz [361] [443] Amizmiz/ and Imi n Tanout are today. The leaders of the first dynasties of the South, the Maghrawa and Idrissites /Idrissids/, applied themselves to developing and beautifying them, until the time when the founding of Marrakech by the Almoravides brought about little by little their economic and political decline.

Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ describes to us also, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, other small towns in which the inhabitants sheltered their harvests and which were

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621 security. Likewise, a big village is only the union of several
592 hamlets. Each of them belongs to a separate family group, and
it often suffices, in order to know the number of these small elementary social units that constitute a little Berbère republic, to count on the spot the number of separate quarters (1).

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1. In the vicinity of the desert in the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani, in the middle Dra and the Dadès, it is common to observe the existence of large qsars /fortified places/, whose houses draw nearer and mutually protect one another. Often, even, the village is surrounded by a rampart; here the proximity of the nomads, the division of the population into haraten /Haratin/ agriculturalists and Arab or Berbère /Berber/ pastoralists -- who often play the role of protectors -- modify considerably the conditions of existence that we have observed in the interior of the province of the Sous.

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The urban character of the construction of the qsars has often been noted. It even seems that there exist in the Dra and the Dadès a particular architectural tradition and a technique more skillful and perfected than in all the Moroccan South. It is doubtless to the artistic influence of the Dra that is owed the beautiful "tighremt" /fortified houses/ found at Telwet and among the Imeghran.

The most famous builders of these "tighremt" as well as of the lordly casbahs of the Atlas come from the tribe of the Aït Bou Yahya, north of Tisint.

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VII. The house. -- There does not exist, it is scarcely necessary to say here, a "Berbère /Berber/ house" of uniform type, whose disposition might be contrasted to that of the "Arab house." The plan, the construction, the arrangement of the dwelling of the Sous agriculturalist differ according to whether it is detached

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/Footnote 1 continued./ The chronicler El Beidaq (Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., p. 63 and sqq.) shows us, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Gedmiwa divided into 46 fractions, whose names can be partially identified. The same confederation in our day contains about 30 units. Likewise, the group of the Genfisa, then divided into 22 fractions, has undergone modifications of only little importance; most of the tribes that constituted it are easily found again among the present-day tribes of the Tichka and in our day are still simple independent "fractions"; the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Aït Wagonsan, for example.

-- and each of them had kept its independence or its autonomy up to the middle of the last century.

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More to the west, the three confederated tribes that form the Ida Ou Tanan were originally, probably in the sixteenth century, each made up of ten elementary units; they have varied little since then, and if the strong political organization of this group takes away from its constituent elements part of their activity, the limits of each of them, to which is given the name of "afous," nevertheless remain very precise.

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The confederation of the Haha itself, made up of 12 tribes, has preserved, especially in the region least transformed by the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/, small internal divisions in which we do not doubt finding traces of former "taqbilt." Each tribe is actually divided into fifths, "khoms," which have a territory of about 50 square kilometers and a total population of 500 to 600 hearths grouped into several "jema'a." In truth, in the north

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I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high valleys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert.

*[634] Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there, they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners.

609 Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

609 When it happens that foreigners present themselves in numbers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or vengeance that are practiced against them in their canton of origin, a consultation of the jema'a of the "inflas" is necessary in order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge, they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary for them to come to find their place on the council.

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious